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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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NO. 1

BARRIERS AND GATEWAYS IN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

Donald McNassor

It is always a matter of urgency that all of our citizens make a wholehearted effort to understand the differences that arise between them in how to educate children. This paper has been prepared for the purpose of providing a basis for such understanding. It contains an analysis of some of the reasons why the people in any community find it exceedingly difficult today to agree on what children need for the proper development of their emotions and their minds. The relationship between communities and their schools is analyzed by (1) describing certain barriers to a sound relationship between those who teach the children and those who give birth to them, and (2) identifying promising gateways to school and community relationships that reinforce and help children in their development.

Before examining some reasons why a breakdown occurs in communication between school people and lay citizens, a few words should be said about a popular misconception, that school and community relations deteriorate because of the inadequacy of techniques of conveying information and facts. It is the writer's conviction that this is not so. In America we are exceedingly ingenious in the use of such techniques—newspaper stories, television shows, sound films in color, and demonstrations at county fairs; but we still are confronted with a problem of communication of serious proportions. The *short term* value of techniques in presenting facts and opinions is not to be underestimated. It is highly questionable, however, whether the effects are more than temporary.

As a matter of irony, such techniques, to our surprise and dismay, can increase tension in school-community relations. This would occur when part of an audience viewing a film on modern elementary school practices would be heard to express the sentiment, "What did I tell you! Instead of teaching children to spell, they teach them how milk

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gets to the home, how to folk dance, and to show disrespect for adults by encouraging pupil participation in planning classroom activities." Or, it would happen if citizens became indignant when a Board of Education employed a professional public relations staff for the schools, in this case the citizens having the fear reinforced that something ominous was being put over on their children and an expert in deception employed to insure success of the educators' secret goals.

In an attempt to improve school-community relations, one school of thought, in other words, would say "Facts change people's attitudes." I am working on a different assumption, that as often as not, "People's attitudes change facts." Citizens of the community tell educators how they feel about what it takes to educate children, and educators convey their story through many media, and they still may not "understand," or, more accurately, *wish to understand* each other's position.

To understand the more fundamental barriers and gateways to school-community relations, we will have to look in other directions than those related to techniques of conveying facts and information. We must look in the direction of understanding people and what their children mean to them, of the conflicting values man lives by in a democracy and his avoidance of anything that disturbs these values, of the relationship between periodic social crises and worry about the schools. We must look at schools through the eyes of teachers who raise children thirty at a time and the eyes of parents who raise them one at a time.

We must look in the direction of how children in America are reflection pools of man's hopes and dreams, his fears and frustrations, and therefore, how the schools can elicit from him praise as well as indignation and fear.

Using these thoughts as the base of our exploration, some of the barriers and gateways in school-community relations become evident.

1. *When there are strongly felt differences between lay citizens and educator citizens as to what and how to provide for the learning of children, the augmentation is not carried out along logical lines.* Each has a set of attitudes and feelings toward "children," "school," "good behavior," which is different. Neither attempts to see how the other "could possibly feel that way," and each tries through logical means to change the position of the other, meaning getting him to agree. This, of course, meets with failure, and each party devises a new strategy which in turn fails to convince. "Understanding" begins to occur when each *accepts* the differences between them, and *attempts*

to see why those differences exist. This process of "seeing" often results in a softening of the relationship (reduction of tension) and a greater desire to understand.

A gateway through this barrier is the discovery of a variety of means to reeducate educators about their reactions to parents' reactions. This involves experiences which enable educators to look at school through the eyes of a person who is worried about schools. It also involves techniques to enable parents to accept differences in how to educate children long enough to get glimpses of the problem through new sets of eyes. There are promising ideas for doing this even though there are no legible blueprints as yet.

2. Differences tend to be reduced in value to the people involved (school leaders and "the community") when they became more intimately acquainted, share similar goals, clubs, recreation and responsibilities in the neighborhood and community, and especially as they discover their common ancestry in interests, tastes and values. This is to say the differences seem greater when people increasingly are less in touch with one another. If this is so, there should be greater difficulty in school-community relations in larger towns and cities than in the smaller towns and villages. There is some evidence that this is true. This problem represents one that originates in industrialization and it extends through our entire culture, affecting many institutions.

The gateway in the case of this barrier is to ask and find answers to a very important question, "What are the means by which men in our large, impersonal cities can discover and develop a common ancestry of interests, habits and values so that the power of their differences in raising and educating children is diluted?" This is a problem for churches, business organizations, P.T.A.'s, and labor groups to face, and one which will be solved by conditions and techniques perhaps yet unknown.*

3. Differences in how to raise and educate children are magnified when people are threatened from without by dangers real or imagined.

In times of social unrest and insecurity, upheavals in the economy, war or threat of war, etc., communication between school and community rapidly deteriorates as in the case of all social institutions. The deterioration continues until the threat disturbs harmonious relations enough to mobilize people into the need for some mutual defense, at

* See Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, Harvard University Press, 1945.

which time the differences appear to evaporate or to become very minor in value.

We can look for better communications between school and community as our situation becomes more precarious to the point that we re-direct our energies toward new goals of common good in which all Americans can unite. It is interesting to note that one of the greatest recent periods of free inquiry and experimentation in our schools and colleges occurred when the people were united in their effort against a common threat—the insecurity and fear following the depression, and the threat to our democratic way of life during war years.

The gateway here is that any unity among our people which occurs in the emergence of goals in common will improve communication—for example, goals pertaining to greater tolerance, use of atomic energy, resisting Communist influence on our way of life, and goals in preparing our children to live in cooperation with one another in a society and world which is changing. Whenever a community unites in a project to improve the mental and physical well-being of its citizens, the children will benefit. Whenever disunity occurs, the schools will be one of the first institutions to be used as the drainage spot for the tension that is unleashed. This is because children are the means by which adults attempt to resolve many of their own conflicts in life.

4. As children grow out of childhood into adolescence, their elders sense that the children want and need increasing independence.

This takes the form of parents interfering less and less with the lives of adolescents, which means keeping a greater distance from the schools, except at certain times of ritual such as graduation exercises.

It is no trick to get people with small children into and concerned about schools. Citizens' groups have amazing turn-outs at the elementary level. It is a different story in the secondary school. Parents with adolescent youth get more and more of their picture of what schools are doing in a second—and third-hand manner. Rumors regarding secondary schools, where school-community contact is more distant and impersonal, can more easily develop and go through grotesque distortions than in the case of elementary schools. The problem is how to keep alive in citizens the interest and desire for contact with schools that was so characteristic when their children were small.

As to the gateway through this barrier, a natural motivation at the elementary level is for parents to come to school, meet and talk

with teachers, see what is going on, ask questions, and help the faculty carry on programs in the interest of children. This is not a natural motivation when the children are fifteen. Adolescents do not wish parents to be this close to their daily existence and its problems.

We need to find ways of encouraging citizens to participate in building better secondary schools on other than the "come and see what we do, and talk with the teacher" basis. Some promising ideas are: use of a roster of lay citizens in projects involving the improvement of the instructional program—business, art, sciences, social studies, etc. (not advisory committees so much as actual instructional projects). This is a good idea regardless of the communication problem because teachers can no longer be trained to be skillful in all the things youth need to experience through school to live adequately in the modern world.

Another gateway is increased use of secondary schools as community adult education centers and as centers in which teachers, with businessmen, scientists, and artists, join in cooperative projects involving community and national welfare. This is happening increasingly in colleges. It occurred on a wide scale in secondary schools during the war. It is imperative that it take place in times of peace as well.

5. The teacher in America still lives to a considerable degree as a member of a special class of human 'beings'—"teachers."

This contributes to low-level communication with the community. It was not serious in older days for the teacher to be regarded as being different; he roomed in one of the local homes and attended all the local picnics, etc. It is serious today that he be regarded as being so different, for he no longer belongs to the local clubs and organizations, and does not eat his meals in the homes of the parents of his children. He may not even live in the community in which he teaches. Psychologically speaking, he is more dangerous to our children now that we do not know him so well and how he thinks and feels.

The teacher is still seen as a person apart from the rest of us. Our image of him is that he has a few queer traits, is not quite as earthy as other folk, has an easy job with a long vacation, and is inclined to feel that he has "congressional immunity" when it comes to educating children. This image has been greatly modified in fifty years but the process is very slow.

Gateways: The teacher is partly responsible for this public image of him—that is, allowing the picture of who he is and how he lives to have been developed in this way. And, for a long time, a certain

kind of person did go into teaching. Today all kinds of people are teaching. The stereotype does not fit so well any more.

The teacher must identify himself increasingly with community groups and enterprises, service clubs, and social clubs. His power to do this, however, is limited. Members of the community must want it this way and give him every chance to join them.

Of course, it is not quite as simple as this. There is another factor that enormously complicates the problem. The people in our towns *need* to view teachers as being more perfect in some ways than the rest of us, therefore somewhat uncomfortable to be around. In this way people maintain their ideals regarding what their children should become. It is understandable that parents want their children to associate with people more perfect than themselves; this is how the adult compensates for his own failures and inadequacies.

6. *The people who give birth to and raise children one or two at a time (parents) will inevitably have some ideas on educating children that are different from those of people who raise children thirty at a time (teachers).*

If you have one or two children, live with them intimately, know their idiosyncrasies, and they are all you have to live for, then you will be most anxious about them. You will judge an educational process in terms of this one child and your dreams and plans for him. You will see some things happen to him in school which please you and some which tend to frighten you, disturb your plans for him.

If you live with them thirty at a time, everything looks different. You look at all of them, devise the best means you know to encourage all of them to learn. Your methods are group methods of instruction, not those useful in individual tutoring. And the thirty are so different, even when divided by I.Q.'s. They have such different minds, habits, and are appealed to through such different motivational techniques. At times you forget the individual, what he is like and what he needs next. You try not to, for you have been taught to respect individual differences; but there are thirty children there every single minute, and this reality makes you forget.

The way one looks at teaching method and content and the way one feels toward an individual child differs somewhat in terms of whether he is all you have, of one of thirty for whom you feel responsible.

There is something to the idea that school-community relations began to be a problem when the American home started producing fewer children. As a parent with six or eight children, you had much

less anxiety about their development than you have now with two or three in the home. Consider the large number of couples with only one child. They are inclined to be excessively anxious about this child. They cannot afford to be too objective about child development. They cannot use the first one to find out how it all comes out so as to improve on later ones. It is imperative to them that no mistakes be made on this one.

Gateways: We are confronted again with a need for ingenious ways of enabling educators to learn to understand and accept legitimate concerns of parents about their one, two, or three children. Such learning makes a much more relaxed, productive parent-teacher conference. Likewise, there is the need for ways of enabling parents to look at *whole classrooms*, thirty children at a time, *whole schools*, *whole communities of children*.

Parent-teacher discussion groups also are a promising gateway, provided they are conducted in an atmosphere of mutual acceptance of feelings, not as programs of lecture-film to sell the schools.

A further gateway is the obligation of educators to watch their language. It is amazing the variety of interpretations lay citizens make of such terms as "project method," "core curriculum," "social studies," "reading readiness." The more specialized and fancy educators become in the labeling of learning packages, the greater the danger of driving a deeper wedge into the communication channel.

7. There is role confusion concerning the functions of different institutions in child development.

A great amount of confusion, uneasiness, and misunderstanding exists today as to who is responsible for what part of the development of children. Communication between professional people and parents is blocked when neither group seems sure as to what his role is in childhood education. We are exceedingly role-conscious today. Parents come in great numbers to child development institutes trying to find out what they are supposed to do for children and how this differs from what school teachers, social workers, pediatricians, and day care pre-school people should do. Teachers attend training institutes in just as large numbers, trying to discover what their proper function is in children's development and how their roles differ from those of the home. Both groups are very touchy and defensive about this.

What has happened apparently is that society has changed considerably in a few generations in the style of life people live, in the kind of relationships lived in the home, and in assigning ever wider

responsibilities to all community institutions in the area of child care and development.

The school's job originally was confined in large measure to teaching a few so-called basic school subjects. Later society demanded that schools do something in the area of teaching children to take care of their teeth and to develop habits of good physical hygiene. Then the schools entered the field of manners, morals, character development—again upon insistent social pressure. Teaching children how to make a living in an industrial civilization eventually became another role of school teachers. And more recently, schools have been used by society as a means of developing proper attitudes and healthy emotions in children—the whole field of personality development. It can be said that society expects its schools to develop *the whole child*.

The American home has relinquished none of the above functions in child development, especially those not pertaining to the "three R's." But because the home has changed in many ways, it is not in the influence position in which it used to be, in the fulfillment of certain roles. For example, in some communities most children live in homes where both parents work. The result of this kind of social change is that schools have been assigned increasingly wider roles in childhood education. The same is true for other institutions that influence children—local government, churches, television agencies, social agencies, labor organizations, medical organizations; all these have assumed newer roles in childhood development. Even business service clubs like Kiwanis and Chambers of Commerce have entered the field of child development through camps, educational programs, clubs, and the like.

The net outcome is that the schools and other organizations in the community, along with the family, have taken on more functions in the total social-emotional-educational development of children; the home, fortunately, has many allies today in the proper development of boys and girls.

The trouble is that everyone feels guilty about this development. It is as though we feel apologetic and shamed that the schools and other organizations have had to increase their roles in childhood education. Instead of feeling confident and thankful that the American people have been able to change their ideas and their techniques to meet changing conditions, most of us have become involved in the great confusion over our changed roles in children's lives. Teachers have the *total development* of children on their hands and, contrary to popular opinion, are restless and uneasy about it. Parents realize this and they too are uneasy.

The great confusion is in evidence everywhere: public opinion surveys on the subject by the dozens, high-pitched arguments in legislative halls as to the purpose for which public money should be spent in education, discussions about Community Chest agency budgets.

We are in the midst of a period of role confusion that is likely to last a long time. The confusion over roles will end as the people of our cities become accustomed to the increased responsibility in child development assigned by social change to all our major social institutions, including the public schools. As we no longer feel guilty about the change in roles that has come about, the great confusion will have ended, and talk about who does which part of the job in influencing children's development will begin to disappear. When this happens, both parents and teachers will be much more self-confident in what each is doing for the child. *The search for mutually exclusive roles will have ended.* Though this development will take one or two or more generations, analytical thinking about it now can reduce some of the tension and self-consciousness in the meantime.

8. *The final barrier in this discussion is that the world in our time is changing rapidly.** Cultures are changing in terms of values and ideals. New ideas and discoveries in the physical and social sciences occur so fast that even the specialist in a field becomes confused. Each generation of children seems, and is, different from the ones that went before it. We learn things about education, medicine, human relations, and the physical world we live in, to find ourselves, only a few years later, dated and confronted with a problem of forgetting and re-learning. All this must be accepted as inevitable.

It is all teachers can do—and they cannot do it too well—to keep up with changing generations, now findings regarding human development, and improved ways of instructing the young. To do it they have to take continuous in-service training. How can busy citizens with a hundred interests keep up with it all?

It is possible today that in any school subject, schools will alter method and content within a 5-year period. Just when a parent becomes accustomed to a type of teaching and learning when his child is ten, he has to face the problem that things may be a little different when his next child reaches ten. This is difficult to accept. Apparently it undermines the security of parents by pushing them further away from their own children. This is why we accept change in how to make automobiles with greater ease than change in teaching children.

*Consult, *The School in American Culture* by Margaret Mead, Harvard University Press, 1951.

GATEWAYS

In the long run, the gateway through this barrier is the gradual development of a new kind of person, one who remains flexible and can assimilate and learn from new conditions that impose change. We want these persons to be our future teachers and our future parents, people who will not remain forever fixed at the level of their own childhood concepts of the world and of man.

In the short run, contact between school people and lay citizens in appraising schools in light of changes in society and science must be facilitated. This can be furthered in many specific ways if we sense its importance. One encouraging sign is that school surveys increasingly are being conducted by teachers and lay citizens rather than by school survey experts working in isolation. In the short run, too, parents of children need to feel welcome in proposing and evaluating changed school practices. Educators must welcome this and get over their fear of it. And educators need to feel free to initiate better practices as they see them, making sure the community is used in a consultant capacity *before* the change becomes fixed into the program of the school.

It is appropriate to conclude the discussion with a comment about why the subject of this paper is so important. It is crucial to the morale and well-being of children that relative agreement and harmony exist in the community regarding how to educate them. We know what happens to a child in the home where treatment by parents is grossly inconsistent. He cannot remain steady in his development when great quantities of difference are aired continuously before him. It is the same in the school. His security as a person and as a learner is at stake. A community in which adults tend to be consistent is a much safer soil in which the child can grow into a confident person. A sense of being able to depend on the stability of the adults who guide him is one thing on which children must count in order to cope with the problems that disturb childhood security.

One realizes that children must learn that adults differ, that they are subject to error, anger, irrational acts. But during childhood they have to learn it gradually in small immunizing doses—not in major crises in the home and in relations between school and community. Children have enough of a load on their hands in growing up without the added burden of taking on the problem of adult anxiety and inconsistency as to how to educate them.

Donald McNassor is Professor of Education, Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California.

AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL DROP-OUTS IN REGARD TO TEN POSSIBLY RELATED FACTORS

Robert Jay Thomas

This study was made in a four year high school of two to three thousand students in the greater Chicago area, but outside of the city itself. It was decided to select one entering class and to study the records of all in that class until they left school, either as drop-outs or as graduates. All students who transferred into or out of the school were eliminated from the study, as were the few who died before completing high school. Also eliminated were a few for whom essential data were not recorded. The class selected entered in 1947 and graduated in 1951, so the Second World War should have no effect and the Korean War little, if any (only three students left school for the armed forces). Since only a week was available to collect and copy all of the possibly relevant data and it could be seen that this would not be sufficient for the whole class, about seventy percent of the class was randomly selected. The number of students actually studied as an entering class is then 434.

The following factors were assumed to be of possible relevance in studying drop-outs: distance traveled to school, I.Q., reading ability, ethnic or racial background, curriculum pursued, sex age, socio-economic class, average grades obtained, and number of extra-curricular activities engaged in.

The first of these was immediately eliminated from consideration because the supervisor of instruction at the high school, in cooperation with the University of Chicago, had just made a study of distance traveled to school and found that it had no relation to drop-outs. The rest of the factors were investigated in this study and the findings will be discussed below; the four most important, last.

AGE. There is some age difference between those finishing and those dropping, as might be expected because of the legal requirements; but this difference is not very great. The average age of all entering is 14 years 5 months, all dropping is 14-9, and all finishing is 14-3 (age at time of entering in all cases). The average for those dropping before one year is 14-9, 1-2 years is 15-0, 2-3 years is 14-7, and 3-4 years is 14-6.

READING ABILITY. Since past work at the school by the author had established that reading abilities, as measured by the Cooperative English Test Form C1-R, was a better predictor of average grades than was I.Q. ($r = .71$ and $.70$ respectively); it was thought that this ability might also be an important factor in regard to drop-outs.

Early calculations showed that this was definitely not an important factor, though; this is probably related to the fact that grades were also found not to be important.

MEAN GRADE POINTS. The following averages are calculated on the basis of $A=5, \dots, E=1$ (the lowest grade). The mean grade points for all students is 3.27, all who finished is 3.41, and all who dropped is 2.88. More than a third of those who finished had averages lower than 2.88, some with an average of 2.20. The socio-economic group with the lowest percent to finish (53%) had an average of 3.1, and the socio-economic group with the highest percent (100%) had an average of 3.5. These and other compilations seemed to indicate that there was no reason to believe that low grades were the reason for dropping-out. Indeed, only one person who recorded as dropping because of failing, and one person finished four years before quitting although it was apparent that his grades were too low to allow him to graduate.

ETHNIC-RACIAL BACKGROUND

The largest group of students with foreign parentage consisted of those whose parents were German, 16%. The average percent of all entering students who finished is 73; of the students with German parents, 64% finished. 7.6% were of Polish parentage and 55% of these finished. The above differences are within 98% level of confidence. Those of Dutch and Italian parentage (6.5% and 3.2% respectively) had a finish rate of 79%, but these were not statistically significant. 4.6% of the students were Negroes and 65% of these finished, also not significantly different from the general average. No other group had enough students in it to be worth calculating (fewer than ten). Although the difference between those of German parentage and all students is statistically significant enough to be considered a real difference, the difference is small (9%). The Polish-all difference may also be considered real, but this seems to be mostly for a reason other than directly nationality. More of the Polish children had fathers with occupations at the lower end of the socio-economic scale than did all students. That the socio-economic group was a more important factor than nationality is quite clear from the percentage breakdowns of nationality within the socio-economic groupings. The percentage of Polish children in any group is far too small to account for the differences between socio-economic groups, with one possible exception, and in some cases varies slightly in the opposite direction. Thus, the ethnic-racial background is of little, if any, importance as regards drop-outs.

SEX

Again, the average of all students to finish is 73; for boys it is 70% and for girls it is 77%. The boy-girl difference is above the 95% level of confidence, but is not really important for several reasons. One reason is that neither rate is very different from the overall average (3 or 4%). Another is that more boys finish the academic curriculum than do girls as is also true in the general curriculum, the only two curricula with both boys and girls (one other curriculum has 4% males). So, like the other factors considered, sex can be considered unimportant in regard to drop-outs in the overall picture.

CURRICULUM

There are certain basic state and school requirements regardless of which of the five curricula the student chooses to pursue. As freshmen, all must take English composition, general science, and civics five days a week and music appreciation and art appreciation, one day a week each, and gym several days a week. Before graduating, all must have three more years of gym, three more years of English (two if average English grade is B or above), and one year of American history. The GENERAL curriculum has no additional subject requirements; the BUSINESS curriculum requires courses in shorthand, typing, office practice, etc.; and the TRADE curriculum includes algebra or shop math, blueprinting and mechanical drawing, general shop courses, and a choice of majors in automobile repair, woodworking, metalworking, or electricity. The ACADEMIC curriculum requires two years of any foreign language, three years of math, and two years of science; the TECHNICAL curriculum requires two years of language, chemistry and physics, elementary industrial arts, mechanical drawing, and three years of math.

Table 1. shows the percent of students to choose each curriculum and the percent of those who enter each who finish one, two, three, or four years. Table 1. also shows the average I.Q. of those who enter each curriculum and the percent who engaged in one or more extracurricular activities.

TABLE 1. Important characteristics of the students in the five curricula.

Curriculum	Percent Choosing	Percent Finishing				Mean I.Q.	% with Activities
		1 yr.	2 yr.	3 yr.	4 yr.		
All		97	89	80	73	106	67
Academic	37	98	96	94	88	113	83
Business	22	99	93	84	75	102	70
General	15	94	79	68	57	101	54
Technical	8	100	94	78	75	112	69
Trade	18	94	75	59	51	96	41

Except in the sex ratio, none of the curricula differ at all appreciably from the total population in any of the factors previously discussed; this, coupled with the lack of any relationship of importance between said factors and drop-outs, would indicate that there are other factors which must be found to account for the great differences in drop-out rates in the various curricula. The technical and trade are all male, the academic and general are about 50-50, and the business is 96% female; but with the closeness in drop-outs rates between boys and girls, this does not account for the curricula differences. From Table 1. it seems clear that I.Q. has some relationship to the drop-out rate; but this does not explain at all the difference between the academic and technical or between the business and general. In each of these cases the the I.Q. is the same, but the drop-out rate is quite different. The percent with activities, however, is nearly the same as the percent to finish in every case. This indicates that there might be a rather close relationship between being in extracurricular activities and remaining in school. Much more will be said about this later.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS

The socio-economic class was judged by the father's occupation. Twenty-seven of the students had to be by-passed because the records showed only mother's occupation, but this group is included in the tables to follow so that any bias introduced may readily be seen. The total group was large enough so that quite homogeneous occupational groupings could be used. These groupings are as follows:

1. Laborers (railroad, factory yard, stone quarry)
2. General Factory Workers
3. Machinists and Mechanics
4. Welders (primarily) and Molders, Sand Blasters, Crane Operators, etc.
5. Electricians (primarily) and Carpenters, Plumbers, Pattern Makers, Die Setter, Brick Layer, Tinsmith, Cement Finisher, Pipe Fitter, etc.
6. Policemen and Firemen (half) and Guards, Mailman, Porter, and Steward.
7. Foremen (primarily) and Superintendents, Inspectors, Maintenance Men, etc.
8. Bus and Truck Drivers
9. Farmers
10. Proprietors

11. Salesmen
12. General Office, Clerks, Secretaries, Postal Clerks ,and Blue Printer
13. White Collar (College not necessary)—Bankers, Artists, Draftsmen, Floor Manager, Cattle Buyer, etc.
14. White Collar (College necessary)—Engineers (primarily) and Lawyers, Accountants, Nurses, Teachers, Executives, and Chemist.
15. Retired or No Job
16. "Housewife"

TABLE 2. Socio-economic groupings and characteristics of each in regard to drop-out rate, I.Q., extracurricular activities, and curricula.

G R O U P	No. in Gp.	% to Fin.	Ave. I.Q.	% with Act.	Percent to choose each Curriculum*			Percent in each Curriculum* who Finished						
					A.	B.	G.	T.	Tr.	A.	B.	G.	T.	Tr.
1	37	73	104	67	32	14	27	0	27	75	80	70	—	70
2	54	59	100	59	22	35	9	6	28	58	63	40	100	53
3	32	75	107	69	25	31	19	6	19	100	90	67	50	33
4	24	62	101	54	37	21	12	8	21	78	40	33	100	60
5	39	77	110	72	36	20	13	8	23	93	75	20	67	89
6	15	53	97	53	27	27	13	7	21	75	100	50	0	0
7	42	86	108	76	38	14	21	17	10	94	100	67	86	75
8	18	72	104	67	56	11	17	6	11	100	50	67	0	0
9	12	67	97	50	25	17	33	0	25	100	50	100	—	0
10	27	74	106	63	44	19	15	7	15	83	100	50	100	25
11	13	100	109	100	54	15	8	15	8	100	100	100	100	100
12	32	84	110	78	41	22	16	9	12	92	71	80	67	100
13	18	78	113	78	44	11	0	28	17	100	50	—	60	67
14	31	93	115	90	77	10	6	6	0	100	100	0	100	—
15	5	0	82	0	0	2	0	0	3	—	0	—	—	0
16	27	56	100	44	22	37	11	7	22	67	80	0	50	33
All	426	73	106	67	37	22	15	8	18	88	75	57	75	51

*A.—Academic B.—Business G.—General T.—Technical Tr.—Trade

Table 2. shows how many in each of these groups, and some of the important information about each of them. The mean grade points of each group was checked and found not to vary enough to be of any importance; the parents' nationality was also checked in each group and found not to be appreciably different from the total population in any case. Table 2. shows that in a few cases does the percent choosing each curriculum vary much from the total population. The percent graduating from each curriculum in each group does vary in several cases; but not at all uniformly or regularly, there being some

high and low cases in almost every group. It is evident that there is some relation between the socio-economic class and the percent to finish high school, but there are some notable exceptions in over a third of the groups. All of these exceptions follow closely, however, the variations in I.Q. and in the percent with activities. The relative importance of these three factors will become clearer in the following sections.

TABLE 3. Condensation of Table 2 into larger socio-economic groupings.

GROUP	No.	Ave. I.Q.	% to Fin.			% with Act.			Curricula % choosing			% finishing			T.	Tr.
			A.	B.	G.	T.	Tr.	A.	B.	G.	T.	A.	B.	G.		
1, 2	91	102	65	63	26	26	16	3	27	67	67	60	100	60		
3, 4, 5	95	106	73	66	33	24	15	7	21	90	74	43	71	65		
6, 7, 8	75	105	76	69	40	16	19	12	13	93	92	64	67	30		
10, 11, 12	72	109	83	76	44	19	14	10	12	91	86	70	86	67		
13, 14	49	115	88	86	65	10	4	14	6	100	80	0	71	67		
All	382	107	75	70	39	20	14	9	18	89	77	56	76	58		

I.Q. As has been pointed out, all of the variations in drop-out rates follow fairly closely the variation in average I.Q. The I.Q. range of those to finish is 65-144 and of those who dropped is 55-139. The average I.Q. of those in each curriculum who graduated is 3-5 points higher than the average for all in the curriculum (Table 1.) in every case; the average I.Q. of those who dropped was 6-8 points lower, except for those in the academic where it was 13 points lower. In regard to Table 2., there is a general trend for the average I.Q. of those dropping to get lower as the socio-economic group number gets higher. There are three major exceptions to this; in group 5, the average of those dropping is 109, in group 7, it is 102, and in group 12, it is 104.

All of this information would seem to indicate that the I.Q. is a factor in dropping-out or staying-in high school, but not the only one.

The I.Q. does seem to be a more important factor than does the socio-economic group, but the I.Q. itself is related to the socio-economic group. That this is the case might be inferred from the tables; but is shown even more clearly by a rank order correlation between the two, using the first fourteen groups in Table 2. Calculation shows a p of .57 between the father's occupation and I.Q., significant at the 5% level of confidence. There are three reasons why such a relationship might be expected. First, part of the reason the father is in that level of occupation is because of his I.Q., and the children tend to have about the same I.Q. as their fathers (and mothers). Second, the "true" I.Q. is never obtainable and the measures we have are more accurate in the case of the middle and upper classes because

of the types of questions asked. Third, even if a "true" test of I.Q. were available, the same training and environmental influences which handicap the lower class child in school situations would probably result in lower motivation to do well on the test.

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

The first indication that extracurricular activities might be at all important in regard to dropping-out was the fact that *not one person who dropped before completing the third year had engaged in even one activity*, and that 89% of those who finished had. Of those who dropped during the last year, only ten (30%) had activities. Of these ten, two left to get married and three left to join the Navy; the other five reasons for leaving were not recorded (this was half of those who left for marriage and all of those who left for the armed forces). This importance of engaging in extracurricular activities was further brought to light by the closeness between the percent to finish and the percent with activities in every group, no matter what the basis for the grouping. Various comparisons indicate that it is not the number of activities that is important, but whether or not activities are engaged in; although there is a correlation of .46 between number of activities and mean grade points, significant at 1% level (correlation for I.Q.-M.G.P. is .56, 1% level). The importance of extracurricular activities is made even clearer in the comparisons in the last section of this paper.

The extracurricular activities in this case were such things as sports and athletics (for girls, too), student government, subject clubs, hobby clubs, etc.; band, orchestra, and choral groups are curricular at the school studied in that grades and credit are given, so these were not included in extracurricular activities.

COMPARISONS, CORRELATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

The groupings in Table 2. were used to calculate rank order correlations; these follow. Father's occupation with percent of group finishing is .59, significant at 5% level; I.Q. with percent finishing is .91, 1% level; and percent with activities with percent finishing is .95, 1% level. A causal analysis technique with the same groups showed I.Q. and being in extracurricular activities to be of equal importance.

Disregarding any groupings and considering the students as a whole, several other correlations were calculated. The correlation between having activities or not and finishing or not is .76 (fourfold point, since both variables are dichotomous). The correlation between I.Q. and finishing is .39 (point bi-serial). The correlation between

I.Q. and activities is .35 (point bi-serial). All of these are significant at the 1% level of confidence. A partial between activities and finishing with I.Q. held constant of .72 was obtained, showing little effect of I.Q. A partial between I.Q. and finishing with activities held constant of .20 was obtained, showing that the activities modify the I.Q. relationship to a great extent. The multiple correlation between finishing and combined I.Q. and activities is .77, only .01 better than activities alone. It should be remembered that the main deviation from a perfect relationship between activities and finishing is in the 35 who finished without activities and not the 10 who dropped with activities (5 of whom dropped for marriage or Navy).

In every method of comparison or grouping used, activities were found to be the factor most related to whether or not the student finished high school and by far the most striking difference between those who finish and those who drop-out. It is, of course, quite possible that a group of other factors affects both whether or not a student engages in activities and whether or not he finishes school. Nevertheless, it would seem that these findings could be of great aid to teachers and counselors in carrying out the school program and to school boards and administrators in organizing the program. Without danger of over generalizing, it may be said that those who engage in at least one extracurricular activity are much less likely to drop-out than those who do not. This would seem to indicate that either the student is a part of the total school program and interested in all phases of it, or else he is not a part of the total program and may cease to have any connection with the school at all. That this is so is further indicated by the tabulations of reasons given for quitting. Only a little over a third gave reasons; but of these, "work" was given by a third and "no interest" by a fourth. Work is often given because it is the only way to obtain legal permission to quit school, so some of those may have quit for other reasons; but a fourth admitted that they were quitting because they had no interest in it. The two practical implications of these findings are that those without activities are those who are most likely to drop and that those without interest in the school and likely to drop may be helped to become and remain a part of the school program by somehow interesting them and getting them into some extracurricular activities. Since the correlation between number of activities and grades is almost as high as between I.Q. and grades, getting them into a few extracurricular activities during their high school years may even help increase their grade average through the increased interest and participation in the school program.

SPECIALIZATION IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE "GENERAL EDUCATION" MOVEMENT

David B. Hawk

We so take specialization for granted as a guiding characteristic of colleges and universities that we forget how for most of their history the institutions of higher learning have known very little of this influence.

Modern universities are the direct descendants of those of the Middle Ages, which, in spite of some local variation, possessed almost complete singleness of purpose and unity of method. The first universities originated in cathedral towns and were for the purpose of training priests, the outstanding social leaders of the day and the only people who had preserved some fragments of classical learning through the troubled times of the destruction of the Roman Empire. In accordance with their ecclesiastical purpose, the cathedral schools were completely authoritarian in method of instruction, and the curriculum was designed to emphasize logic and the dialectic method as the culmination of learning. Moreover, another influence in the direction of unity was that the Catholic encyclopedists, who had been reassured in their work by the belief that all knowledge came from the past in the form of divine revelation, had patched together their fragments of classical and ecclesiastical expository writings and felt that the finished work constituted the whole of past, present, and future knowledge.

The same historical currents which brought to full flower the medieval university culminated in a series of events which increased the importance of secular and individualistic interests, but these latter originated outside of university circles and were actively opposed until their widespread diffusion throughout society gave the scholastic leaders no choice but to bend in the direction of the newer interests or else lose their effectiveness as arbiters of thought and life.

Humanism was the first of these currents which arose in opposition to university tradition and practice, but which came in time to be incorporated within the university ideals, even though not entirely harmonized with the original purposes. In humanism there is the essential idea that education must develop the whole man—his body and soul as well as his intellect.

The humanistic trend soon became associated with another social development of far-reaching importance: the commercial and industrial revolution, which burst the molds of the established class structure

and resulted in an influx to the university of many sons of newly-rich commercial families whose interests revolved about the social graces, privilege, and pleasure. Although the universities for long held tenaciously to the ascetic and clerical requirements for student life, these young men of class continued to come, and, surely though imperceptibly, they widened the university's range of interest.

The Lutheran and Calvinist reformations also were counter-currents to the original purpose of the university, but at first they produced changes in the traditional structure which were only minor. In spite of much talk of simpler creeds and plainer liturgies, the outcome, of the educational reforms at least, left the curriculum in nearly the same form in which it had been in the thirteenth century.

Natural science, the study which in the long run proved the most decisive influence in changing the nature of university education, was likewise at first bitterly opposed. In England, men like Darwin, T. H. Huxley, Herbert Spencer, and (even) Matthew Arnold, who argued so convincingly that the new science should be a basic part of education, were at first treated with hostility and suspicion by college and university officials.

In America, institutions of higher learning were instituted very early, and they followed almost slavishly the European models. Harvard, the first college founded north of Mexico, was the handiwork of a group of Puritans who came largely from Trinity and Emmanuel Colleges at Cambridge. The primary purpose of this college was to train ministers, and to that end Latin grammar and rhetoric and Aristotelian science and logic constituted nearly all of the curriculum. The same was true of the first studies at Yale, William and Mary, Princeton, Brown and Dartmouth.

Gradually, though, wider interests exerted their effect. To the medieval Seven Liberal Arts and Aristotle's Three Philosophies (all in Latin) was added a study of Greek because that was the tongue of Aristotle and the other greats. Humanism had brought to the fore in Latin studies some of the better poetry and plays in place of the steady diet of logic and moral lessons, and this developed into an interest in literature for its own sake. In a somewhat similar way, history became a study in its own right.

When Benjamin Franklin, in view to setting up the Philadelphia Academy, made his first proposals for teaching some "practical" studies like surveying, navigation, political economy, and agricultural science, his ideas were so far in advance of the times that his friends persuaded him to drop most of the innovations. Yet it was not long before all of these subjects began to appear in the newer academies

and colleges as they opened up, and soon the older institutions found that they must add them too or be lost in the competition. The Morrill Act of 1862, by the provision of federal funds greatly stimulated the interest in education as applied to progress in agriculture and in mechanical arts, and was the beginning of a revived interest in state universities.

Meanwhile, scientific theory had been developed and made respectable enough to be taken into colleges and universities. This was first true of astronomy and mathematics, later of physics and chemistry, and later yet of economics, political science, and sociology. Psychology and anthropology became the last of the major sciences to win recognition.

In America during the latter half of the nineteenth century secularization and vocationalism in higher education became the dominating forces. As the natural sciences progressed, more and more new areas for specialization were opened up. The influence of German scholarship in American universities helped to displace the humanistic ideal of the educated man of broad liberal learning by the ideal of the competent scholar or the professional practitioner. More and more, institutions of higher learning stressed research proficiency for their graduate scholars even though the majority of those so trained became teachers. As the broader cultural training was assigned to the undergraduate arts college, (which was at the same time expected to increase its efforts in remedying the students' public school deficiencies), the attitude came to prevail that the broader type of education was unimportant as compared with specialized research and training. Moreover, the tendency for this attitude to prevail was heightened by the nature of science in relation to all knowledge: for it is a foundation principle of the scientific method to study reality by taking a single rigid point of view and working out with painstaking detail all the uniformities which can be obtained from that point of view. Hence the interrelations of one science with another cannot be displayed by the scientific method because their consideration is excluded by definition.

The major import of this quite general historical survey seems to be that specialization has been building up to an impasse. It demands more and more painstaking devotion to increasingly obscure and minor points. The process would eventually become intolerable in even the most socially static society, but as today our civilization is in the midst of accelerated change, it means that our schools are being asked to do the impossible: to integrate and synthesize culture, which seems to be flying apart in every direction, and at the same time to

give their principle attention to professional instruction which grows hourly more narrow and detailed. The international situation highlights the urgency of the assimilating and synthesizing need. As the President's Commission on Higher Education has pointed out, the one thing that is vitally needed today is a deeper understanding of *all* the peoples of the world.

The solutions offered for the educational problem of overspecialization run the gamut from reactionary appeals to return to the authoritarian method and the relatively limited purpose of the old Latin and classics curriculum all the way to the disturbingly radical suggestion that free student-interest can be depended upon to motivate the individual to acquire knowledge in the right quantity and of the right quality. And yet, in spite of considerable seeming concern and a great deal of discussion about the matter, so far not a great deal has been done.

The most widely publicized attempt to meet the over-specialization danger is the General Education movement, and this claims as its main purpose the stressing in education of the general and basic cultural concepts which underlie our civilization. Briefly, the implied assumption is that learning which is directed primarily to gaining professional skill does not give the basis in understanding which it is essential for members to have if the society is to operate efficiently. To borrow a phrase from Veblen, persons with only this kind of education have a "trained incapacity" to understand some of society's most important problems. Or, to put it another way, a critical blockage in communication exists between members of society when all the training is for specialties and none for common understandings.

The General Education movement claims as founders men such as Presidents Lowell of Harvard and Harper of Chicago, who, close to the turn of the century, recognized the problem and outlined broad measures of solution. As the movement has now developed it includes the new emphases and experimental patterns of institutions with such varied composition and purposes as Reed College, the Universities of Minnesota and Florida, Columbia University and the women's colleges: Stephens, Bennington, and Sarah Lawrence. While all of these institutions may be somewhat aware of the same problems in fulfilling their respective social responsibilities, the practical solutions which they have worked out can hardly be said to have much in common.

One reason that the movement has not made greater unified progress goes back to the fact that the pressure of professional demands on the colleges and universities has not diminished, but has grown stronger. Hardly a school exists which can give adequate atten-

tion to this new challenge to provide a body of completely non-professional information for the students. (Parenthetically, it should be remarked that many professional leaders have themselves realized the dangers of over-specialization and are now advocating more generalized training for doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc. But on the other hand, most of the generalized courses available are rather uncertain in purpose if not vague in content, and thus they suffer by comparison with the highly specific and potentially remunerative vocational specialties).

Another factor adding to the difficulty of producing a new core of integrated knowledge arises out of the size of the physical burden the college has had to assume in recent years. In 1949, at the height of the postwar enrollment peak, almost two and a half million students were in institutions of higher learning. That this was not all due to post college-age veterans is shown by the fact that, where in 1900 only about 4 per cent of youths from 18 through 21 years of age were enrolled, today the percentage is about 20 and still increasing. Moreover, the increase in numbers has brought a perhaps more than proportional increase in problems because the enrolling classes are less highly selected intellectually and socially than they used to be with the result that more thought has to be given to counseling, remedial services, achievement standards, and teaching methods than was necessary before.

The discussion and experimentation which has gone on under the stimulation of the General Education movement has made clear one thing which it was necessary to have settled before the activity could get very far. It has disposed of the erstwhile hope, at first held by many, that a basic core of fundamentals of *fact* could be agreed upon for the minimal program. Now it has become clear that it is impossible to reach an agreement in any broad time and place sense on the fundamentals of fact which every college student ought to know. Our type of civilization just is not propitious for such an undertaking: the truth means different things to different academic groups, and, if any mutual agreement could at some time be obtained, it would soon be upset by new scientific discoveries. A case in point is The One Hundred Great Books project. As it stands, almost everyone would like to make a few substitutions in the official list. And so far the idea has been advanced mainly as a suggestion; one could imagine what would happen if the list were made required reading at, for example, a state university.

Yet the difficulty of arriving at the acceptance of a core of basic facts on a society-wide basis does not preclude the possibility that

each institution might work out its own such fundamental core to meet its own specific needs. That is what has been done by the institutions most successful in carrying out the general education purpose. Characteristically, a general education curriculum worked out in this way would never be considered fixed and permanent, but would be continually changed and adapted to new conditions.

It is the manner of constructing this curriculum, therefore, which points the way to the real unifying element in the general education idea. *Just as we are finding that democracy can be better described by how it works than by the elements of its composition, so it is becoming clear that the common elements of general education must be sought in agreements and understandings about skills and attitudes rather than about factual information.* In short, the common core by means of which it will be possible to unite all our legion students and faculty members will be a common way of behaving in the matter of gaining knowledge. A glance at the history of the university makes such a principle seem plausible. Although the university is devoted to the study of facts, in its long development the importance of the facts has changed many times. What is of permanent significance about the institution is that it is devoted to the pursuit of truth for the sake of truth. As it develops procedures for making this realization widely and clearly understood, the General Education movement may provide the core of cultural agreement to make possible new unity of civilization and its institutions.

David B. Hawk is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Atlanta Division of the University of Georgia.

SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION SOME CONSIDERATIONS FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Roy C. Buck

School district reorganization, especially in rural areas, is a growing trend in public school education. In general, reorganization means increasing the size of the attendance and/or administrative units. Accompanying this rather fundamental locality and administrative alteration are many problems involving physical plant changes, financing, educational programs, and a whole constellation of problems under the general heading of community adjustment to a major institutional change.

There is a growing concern over the lack of fundamental research into the effects of school district reorganization on society. Institutions other than the school want to know how it will influence their programs. The church, for example, in the prosecution of youth programs can quite justifiably raise questions concerning the impact of school district reorganization on its efforts. On the other hand business enterprises are concerned over the possibility of important trade and service shifts.

In general the problems growing out of school district reorganizations are problems in social change. The school emerges as a highly contractual type of firm as compared to the fairly informal administrative arrangements which characterized its operation prior to reorganization. This general framework suggests the following problem areas which lend themselves to scientific investigation.

I. PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE PUPIL

The young person is the primary reason for the school's being. School district reorganization is assumed to contribute to making boys and girls more desirable and useful members of society. This "input-output" relationship cannot be understood by looking at course offerings alone. The academic program is only a part of the processing.

For example, to what extent are their important differences in the ways young people adjust to the larger system? Who seems to undergo less of a social and psychological shock in transferring from small, fairly intimate school systems to large, more impersonal ones?

Is the leadership base among young people actually broadened in the reorganized district or does leadership become concentrated in a few powerful figures? The chance for leadership development is often suggested as an advantage to larger school systems. The point of view here is that a few may develop "up" but that many young people

are squeezed out in what is likely to be a very competitive situation.

What about the reorganized school district and delinquency and discipline? Are discipline problems increased or minimized? Does reorganization develop a style of life among young people where delinquency and moral breakdown are facilitated or hindered? These questions are underpinned by the hypothesis that school district reorganization lifts the young person out of the primary contacts of the home and neighborhood at an early age and introduces him to the secondary contacts of bureaucracy where the "system" and his own age group become primary referents for his behavior. The family and locale of residence probably decline in their influence on young people. This in some cases may be defined as desirable, in others not.

It is generally recognized that the attributes which our society values are not distributed uniformly among its members. Some have more ability than others. Socioeconomic status differences are readily apparent. Are these differences enhanced or minimized in the reorganized district? To what extent are young people who do not "measure up" made more conscious of their deficiencies by their associates and faculty in larger systems so that they are defined "down" and finally "out." The larger school system is supposed to meet the needs of a variable student population. Does this come about as evidenced by increasing percentage of completion of public school education?

These are just a few of the many lines which research might follow within the general framework of pupil adjustment and assimilation in the reorganized school district.

II. COMMUNITY REALIGNMENT AND ADJUSTMENT

School district reorganization together with the new physical plant which is likely to accompany it, is a major institutional change and is therefore likely to disturb many fairly well established social and economic equilibriums in the area involved. Studies of communities show in general a pattern of interdependency among the major social systems within their boundaries. When an innovation takes place in one of them, its impact is almost certain to be felt through the total social and economic structure.

A significant and highly volatile segment of the population, youth, is subject to the most direct influences. But young people are not in school all of the time. How are their behaviors in other systems (church, recreation, etc.) altered? What are the nature of the felt gains and losses by other groups in the locale of school district reorganization?

There is an adult emphasis in this problem also. To what extent does change in school organization and administration alter patterns of adult association? The hypothesis inherent in both the youth and adult problem as outlined is that the school system, especially in rural communities, serves a major role in defining the style of much of the formally organized social life. The school is often the center of what might be classified as secular activity. When buildings are closed or when their function is redefined there is a possibility of disturbing fairly well set programs of activity. On the other hand, other groups may become activated as a result of reorganization.

What is the role of the school in community organization prior to reorganization and how is it redefined after reorganization has taken place; is the basic question raised in the preceding paragraphs.

There is a social psychological problem which bears investigation in this general area of community adjustment to school district reorganization. For many persons the school, situated close to the day-to-day life of its citizenry, symbolizes one of the greatest forces for good in American society. The school occupies a high position in the American value system.

Because of this rather strong sentimental tie which many people feel toward the school, strife and discontent are likely to develop when school district reorganization comes up for discussion. Reorganization generally means closing some schools and redefining the purpose of others. In either case a sense of loss may develop which will deter systematic changes to larger, more efficient operating units. Thus, the most carefully outlined procedures for change need to be adjusted in light of the prevailing values in the area where the reorganization is to take place.

It is therefore important to investigate the opinion structure of an area as well as its sociological content. Plans and legislation for change must be congruent with the prevailing social and ideological forms; is the hypothesis advanced.

Further, on the subject of the social psychological aspect of the problem, the matter of establishing the reorganized district together with its physical plant and other facilities as a highly valued symbol over a wide geographic area needs consideration. This is a study in the transfer of allegiance.

In general the problems of community realignment and adjustment to school district reorganization, all suggest the goal of establishing the kind of social, economic, and psychological solidarity which will facilitate the ends of public school education as they are conceived in American society.

III. SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAM

The school system itself undergoes significant changes because of school district reorganization. It generally becomes "bigger" and more bureaucratic. The hypothesis has already been advanced that the basis of organization probably shifts from a pattern of somewhat informal arrangements to a system of legal-rational procedures. This is likely to be true in the program of instruction as well as administration.

The early period of operations under reorganization probably is one of fairly rational conduct on the part of members in the system. Special attempts are made to follow prescribed routines and they are likely to be followed during the early period of reorganization. Informal patterns of interaction and redefined ideological systems proceed to emerge within the legal-rational framework and the system becomes traditional in the sense that it operates educationally and administratively by means of both reason and "whimsy."

In an effort to make reorganization appeal to the citizenry, vocational courses are likely to be emphasized during the early years. Academic work will on the other hand, be of secondary significance. The school will attempt to sell itself on the basis of job training and the novelty value of vocational curricula.

Special training in the arts and athletics will be emphasized and efforts will be made to bring these to the public's attention. Athletic competition, forensic contests and music festivals will be eagerly promoted. The emphasis will be one of accumulating immediate returns on the "new educational look" in the area of reorganization.

That this early appeal will pay off in increased public approval of the change is hypothesized. It is further suggested that this emphasis will decline as the new system becomes integrated into the wider social process.

The supervising principal or school superintendent is the key figure in the reorganized school system. While school districts are bound by law to go along with the program, it will be up to the school administrator to bring districts and their boards together in an efficiently operating unit. The role of the school superintendent is redefined. He takes on more and more management functions and becomes less of an educator in the traditional sense. To the extent that this is skilfully done is the extent to which the reorganized district produces many of its assumed benefits.

"Red tape" will be a characteristic of the reorganized program. This will be true all through the system. It is hypothesized that there will be immediate resistance. Enforcement will be strong. As the

system "settles down" techniques will emerge at all levels on how to circumvent it and a synthesis of legal rational procedures and autonomous finagling will emerge in the long run.

Teachers will have their problems too. There will be student problems, administrative and community problems, trouble with each other, and not a little with themselves.

New routines will be viewed with some fears as well as ready acceptance. Probably professional training will be emphasized a little more and some of the "old" staff will develop attitudes of resentment and inferiority toward new staff with bachelor's and master's degrees.

Working and living with the "specialists" (athletic coaches, art and music teachers, vocational teachers, guidance instructors, etc.) and their programs will be something new in some instances. New modes of instruction and new educational values will constitute reason for conflict, and personal disorganization. On the other hand, new staff need to recognize unfavorable as well as favorable implications of newness and not give the impression of taking over within the system.

The teacher will learn that a highly bureaucratic structure requires fundamentally different modes of operations than was true for the informal membership system characteristic of smaller schools. The teacher will cease to be a member at large of the staff. He will find it necessary and natural to gravitate into informal clique memberships which will limit full knowledge and increase the characteristic fears associated with not being a part of all communication channels.

The hypothesis underlying the above proposal on how teachers will be affected is that persons in single membership systems experience personal disorganization when they, of necessity, have to become members of subgroups in a system where it is impossible to operate socially and psychologically as a member of the whole.

This rather brief and certainly incomplete treatment of school program and organization under reorganization suggests that the fundamental problem is again one of social change. The objective of efficient and effective education for young people is still primary. The development of procedures to insure it will need the application of science to the suggested hypothesis and many others. The short-run goal is how to bring about changes in social forms and ideologies in a way which will minimize negativism and person disorganization on the part of persons influenced by the change.

Roy C. Buck is Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology, Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pennsylvania.

CORE CURRICULUM — A NEW FRONTIER*

Philip Rothman

In the area of Secondary Education one of the newest of the frontiers is that designated by the title of Core Curriculum. It is strange that core curriculum should be a new frontier, for it has been in existence for approximately 25 years. In the 30's the Eight-Year study directed nation-wide attention to the core curriculum. However, until quite recently core curriculum was safe territory only for the fearless and hardy pioneer. In the last five years, however, increasing interest in core curriculum has been evident.

A conference on core curriculum was recently held with the expectation that 50 interested persons would attend. Four hundred were present. These four hundred were teachers and administrators of schools teaching core, introducing core, planning to introduce core, or thinking about introducing core.

INCREASED USE OF CORE

The N. Y. State Department of Education estimates that more than 200 schools in the state have some type of core program. In nearby states, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Maryland, the roll of core classes is mounting. Across the country the picture is the same—growing interest and activity in the area of core. There have, of course, been instances in which the core program has been tried and then abandoned. This is not surprising. No new frontier is opened completely on the first try. Some territory is temporarily claimed, but lost when the claim is not strong enough, sure enough, or properly backed. This has been true at times of core experiments. The overall picture, however, is one of continuing expansion, and, if the present direction is extrapolated, there is a basis for predicting a continually increasing growth.

To what might this growth be attributed? Why, after a period of relative quiet, has the core curriculum become a vitally expanding area? There are many ways in which this question might be answered. The effects of war years, of growing school populations, of teacher shortages, of dedicated educators, of State Departments of Education, of growing varieties of teaching aids, and of previous experiments could all be indicated as contributing causes.

This paper will not address itself to specific items such as those above, but will explore some of the more fundamental causes—causes to be found in the nature of our society.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

All institutions of a society must represent to some extent the total impact of that society. Each institution must draw from the society of which it is a part and must also contribute to that society. If the institution comes to be unrepresentative of the society, strain results. If the strain becomes severe enough, adjustment must take place—either the institution must adjust or society must change. The core curriculum represents this type of adjustment in the educational institution.

What are the forces in our society which explain this adjustment? Undoubtedly there are many complex forces which contribute to this adjustment. It seems likely, however, that much of the change can be explained in terms of the growing acceptance of four basic values. More and more these values have been accepted into American life and more and more they have become influences on the institutions of the United States. Let us examine each of these values with attention to the applications of the value to the institution of education; and let us see why these values tend to direct education toward the acceptance of the core curriculum.

MODERN SCIENCE

The first influential value is the acceptance of science. This includes both the results of science and the methods of science. World War II, with its increasing use of the products of science, social and psychological as well as physical, made the general public science conscious. One indication of this can be found in the sky-rocketing popularity of that branch of literature known as science-fiction. Science ceased to be something which was of concern to a white-robed figure in a strangely cluttered laboratory, and became a force in the daily lives of men. The results of science and the scientific method were accepted as having bearing for all institutions of society. Those individuals who had been trying to foster the scientific study of education suddenly became worthy of attention. Questions which had been asked only in ivory towers now became popular. New questions were asked. It became proper to ask: What does research say? What is the evidence? Can relationships be demonstrated? And more specifically: How do children learn? Under what conditions does learning take place? How can the learning situation be improved? How can provision be made for individual differences? What is the relationship between learning and emotional needs of children?

As questions of this nature were asked, and as such answers as

were available were found, some implications were seen to exist. Educators paid attention to the findings of the psychologist, the psychiatrist, the sociologist, the physiologist and the anthropologist. This attention led to some of the methods and some of the organizational patterns of the core curriculum. Therefore, in the core, emphasis is upon the use of information as a tool of understanding, research skills are emphasized, larger blocks of time are made available, content is centered about problems of immediate interest and importance, knowledge is gained in context rather than in isolated fragments, and guidance is considered an integral part of the core class.

A second commonly accepted value which has contributed to the growth of core curriculum is the desire to be realistic or practical. Since frontier days Americans have prided themselves on their realistic approach to their problems. Modern American society places a premium on the practical man, the man who is able to realistically assess a situation and determine the best ways of facing it. The dreamers, the withdrawers from reality, even the idealists have always been somewhat suspect in our land. Ready acceptance has been given to those who are willing to "face the facts."

REALISM IN EDUCATION

Education has managed to maintain many idealistic aspects. Despite the repeated efforts of influential leaders to bring education closer to reality, efforts of men such as Benjamin Franklin, Horace Mann, and John Dewey, the prevailing patterns of education failed to pay attention to many important facts. In recent years many of these "facts" have become so intrusive that they could no longer be ignored. More realistic appraisals of existing conditions led to acceptance of the need for new patterns to meet these conditions. Some of the core curriculum were: the changing nature of the school population, from an elite to a cross sectional group; the nature of individual differences, not only in mental ability but also in physical, social, and emotional qualities; the failure of present school patterns to be vital enough or effective enough to hold 50% of the school population; and the increasing fragmentation of the school day to the point that teachers could not really know their students nor students their teachers. The realistic approach of the core curriculum to these conditions has been a decisive factor in the growing acceptance of the core idea.

A third major value of the United States is democracy. It is true, of course, that this term has been appropriated to many devious pur-

poses and has been used so loosely that much of its meaning has been lost. It is still true, however, that the people of the United States have a deep and abiding faith in the democratic way and feel that those people who are to be affected by decisions should have a hand in making those decisions.

DEMOCRACY IN PRACTICE

For a long while schools thought they could discharge their responsibility to democracy by teaching about democracy. Only in recent years has the realization come, that teaching *about* is not enough, but that practice in democracy is necessary. Student councils or governments have been one attempt to give students more experience, however this experience has been limited both as to the number of students involved and the amount of practice involved. The inconsistency of classroom practice based on authoritarian concepts with a teacher who decides completely what shall be done, when it shall be done, by whom it shall be done and anything else to be decided, became glaringly obvious. The school was seen increasingly as a place not only to learn about democracy, but to experience and gain proficiency in democratic processes. Thus ideas of pupil-teacher planning, group discussion, committee work and self and group evaluation gained strength. The most satisfactory form of school organization for implementing these ideas is the core curriculum.

The fourth value to be discussed is one of the newest to be accepted in the American pattern, and yet it is one of the strongest. This is the inevitability and desirability of change. Until fairly recently continuing stable patterns of life were accepted. Even after these became somewhat unrealistic as a result of technological advances the prevailing opinion remained. With two world wars and the rapidly increasing rate of change, however, the American public has accepted the idea of change and has adjusted its thinking to a continuing and increasing rate of change. No one, any longer, thinks that tomorrow will be like yesterday. This year's car will be outdated next year. Jet planes of today will be replaced by rockets in the near future. Farming will no longer follow familiar patterns, radio gives way to television and color television is just around the corner, cybernetics promises radical changes in production procedures, plastics and man-made fibers have revolutionized clothing industries and you "haven't seen anything yet!"

PROGRAM FLEXIBILITY

With prevailing opinions of this type it is difficult to visualize a school program continuing day after day, year after year in the same unchanged inflexible pattern. Schools will have new architecture, new materials, new audio-visual aids, and new ways of meeting problems. In a society of continuing change the school must have flexibility. It must be able to accommodate itself to change in society. Rigid patterns of organization cannot be maintained. The core program with its ingrained flexibility and ability to adjust seems the most likely answer at present.

This paper has taken four major values of our society—science, practicality, democracy, and change—and shown the way they have influenced the schools toward acceptance of the core curriculum. It should not be assumed that these are meant to be the only important values of our culture, or that the core curriculum is the only way of meeting the pressures that the common acceptance of these values has created. However, these are major values of our culture, and at present the core curriculum does seem to be one of the most satisfactory ways of accommodating them.

Philip Rothman is Assistant Professor of Education at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

SOCIAL FACTORS IN THE WORK ATTITUDES AND INTERESTS OF TWELFTH GRADE MICHIGAN BOYS

E. Grant Youmans

The many difficulties which confront young Americans when they leave school to take full time jobs pose an important social problem in the United States: Are youth being adequately prepared to fulfill adult work roles? Wise action on such a problem must be based on fundamental research which illuminates the processes by which young people become adults. The purpose of this study is to contribute to such knowledge.

It is generally recognized that experiences in the home, the school, the community, and in part time work serve to socialize young persons for functioning in adult society. Not so well known, however, and not so well accepted in the United States is the influence of social stratification. Americans are strongly imbued with the ideology of equality. They generally assume that regardless of origin everyone has an equal opportunity to share in the advantages and benefits of American civilization. Most Americans are inclined to deny the existence of rigid "social classes" or any other permanent form of social stratification.

However, despite popular notions to the contrary, careful study has recently revealed that important social differences exist between broad strata of people in the United States. Much of the lack of cooperation and many of the cleavages and conflicts in the industrial world are related to the differences in attitude, belief, and interests which result from social stratification.¹ Sociological studies of the American educational system have shown that the equalizing and levelling function of the schools has been overemphasized and that the value orientations of social strata are more important than educators realized.² Community studies have revealed that the behavior of youth in America is profoundly influenced by the pervasive forces of social stratification.³

¹ Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949); Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Boston: Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1945).

² W. L. Warner, R. J. Havighurst, and M. B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944); W. B. Brookover, "America Needs a New Social Class Theory of Education," *Journal of Educational Theory*, I (August 1951), 97-105.

³ A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1939); Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1939).

The dominance of economic institutions and economic functions in the industrialized Western world suggest that economic stratification is the basic form.⁴ For this reason, occupation, which is a reliable index of economic function, may reflect the general stratification in the United States.⁵ In this study occupation level is used as the index of social stratification. The three levels are (1) white collar workers, (2) manual workers, (3) farmers.

Because of the broad implications of social stratification in American life, it is expected that it will be reflected in the work attitudes and interests of youth. Four hypotheses are tested: (1) Social stratification is significantly related to the differential socialization of youth in the home, in the school, and in the community. (2) The value orientations of sub-cultures of social strata are more important in formulating youths' work attitudes and interests than are the school, work experience, type of community, or certain factors in the home situation. (3) Work experience changes young peoples work attitudes and interests. (4) The American secondary schools are not successful in erasing the attitudinal differences concerning work which exist among young people from different social strata.

The testing of these hypotheses required first-hand data on how young people viewed jobs and occupation in the United States. This information was obtained by means of a questionnaire administered to a representative sample of Michigan youth.⁶ The distribution of

⁴ A. M. Edwards, "A Social and Economic Grouping of the Gainfully Employed Workers in the United States," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXVIII (December 1933), 377-389; A. W. Jones, *Life, Liberty, and Property* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1941); W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, "Yankee City Series," Vol. IV (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947); F. S. Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935); Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown in Transition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937).

⁵ W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), have devised an Index of Status Characteristics for measuring social class position. The Index uses four status characteristics: occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area. Of these, the greatest weight is given to occupation. Richard Centers, *op. cit.*, uses occupation as an index of social class position. Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 87, 358, and 364, point out the importance of occupation in determining status.

⁶ The Michigan Bell Telephone Company granted funds to the Social Research Service of Michigan State College for the study. To make the survey and publish a report, Dr. Charles P. Loomis, Director of the Social Research Service, appointed a Committee composed of W. B. Brookover, W. H. Form,

the sample of 1,279 twelfth grade boys used in the following study is shown in Table I. Slightly over one-third of the boys in the sample are sons of white collar workers, over one-half are sons of manual workers, and about one-tenth are sons of farmers. About three times as many seniors in the study lived in urban as in rural communities.⁷

In Table II the occupational distribution of each stratum in the sample is compared with the occupational distribution reported for Michigan by the United States Census Bureau in 1940. The sample contains a somewhat larger proportion of professional, managerial, and skilled workers and a slightly smaller proportion of clerical, semi-skilled, unskilled, and farm workers than existed in Michigan in 1940. The sample thus contains a larger proportion of sons of higher status occupational groupings. This difference is expected, since a sample of twelfth grade males in Michigan would probably represent fathers of slightly higher socio-economic status than would a sample of all the youth in Michigan. Many young men from families of lower socio-economic status drop out of school before reaching the twelfth grade.

The responses of the boys to the questionnaire are analyzed from contingency tables.⁸ The degree of association between variables is shown by the values of the corrected coefficients of contingency, computed by means of Chi Square.⁹ The findings of the study are summarized under the four hypotheses.

D. L. Gibson, E. A. Schuler, J. F. Thaden, E. G. Youmans, and C. Sower (Chairman). The Committee designed a self-administering questionnaire which was completed by 6,789 tenth and twelfth grade boys and girls from 56 public and private high schools in Michigan. The Committee report contained an analysis primarily in terms of grade and sex. See *Youth and the World of Work* (East Lansing, Michigan: Social Research Service, Michigan State College, September 1949).

⁷ As used in this study, "Urban" refers to communities over 2500 in population; "Rural" refers to communities under 2500 in population or to open country. The questionnaire did not include a question on rural-urban residence. Consequently rural-urban residence is determined by the location of the school the twelfth grader attended.

⁸ In this summary report the contingency tables are not shown. For detailed statistical evidence see E. Grant Youmans, *An Appraisal of the Social Factors in the Work Attitudes and Interests of a Representative Sample of Twelfth Grade Michigan Boys* (Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, 1953).

⁹ These values are summarized in Tables III and V. All associations are significant above the .05 level of probability.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE OF 1279 12th GRADE MICHIGAN BOYS, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, AND BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE*

Occupational Level of Father	Number	Per Cent Rural	Per Cent Urban	Total
White collar worker	452	21.9	78.1	100.0
Professional	84	23.8	76.2	100.0
Managerial**	224	27.7	72.3	100.0
Clerical	144	11.8	88.2	100.0
Manual worker	719	20.0	80.0	100.0
Skilled	339	17.7	82.3	100.0
Semi-skilled	319	22.9	77.1	100.0
Unskilled***	61	18.0	82.0	100.0
Farmer (owner & tenant)	108	69.5	30.5****	100.0
Total cases	1279	24.8	75.2	100.0

* The total sample drawn was 1456. Of these 102 indicated that their fathers were not living and 75 failed to respond.

** Includes proprietors and officials but not farmers.

*** Farm laborers 3
 Servants 14
 Other laborers 44.

**** Living in or adjacent to urban communities.

TABLE II

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FATHERS OF THE 12th GRADE BOYS IN THE SAMPLE AND THE TOTAL MALE EMPLOYED WORKERS IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN IN 1940, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Level	Fathers of 12th Grade		Total Male Employed Michigan Workers, 1940*
	Boys in Sample	Michigan Workers, 1940*	
White collar worker	35.4	27.7	
Professional	6.6	4.9	
Managerial	17.5	9.1	
Clerical	11.5	13.7	
Manual worker	56.2	62.5	
Skilled	26.5	19.6	
Semi-skilled	24.9	25.6	
Unskilled	4.8	17.3	
Farmer (owner & tenant)	8.4	9.8	
Total	1279	1,427,459	

* Alba M. Edwards, *Population: Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United States, 1870-1940* (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1943), p. 192.

DIFFERENTIAL SOCIALIZATION

Hypothesis I. Social stratification is significantly related to the differential socialization of youth in the home, in the school, and in the community.

This hypothesis is confirmed. The indices of differential socialization used are amount of work done by the boys at home, the amount and type of allowance received, curriculum in which enrolled, participation in extra class activities, use made of vocational guidance facilities in the schools, the kind and number of full and part time jobs held, and the amount of money earned. The degrees of association between social stratification and these indices are shown in Table III. Nine-tenths of all the boys do some work at home. The pronounced difference in the amount of work done is between the farm boys and the other youths. A greater proportion of farm boys than the others do work at home and they work longer hours. Over one-half the boys received some spending money from home. The sons of farmers received the greatest amounts of spending money and the sons of manual workers the least. About one-half of the boys received their allowances regularly, while the remainder had to "ask for it." This differential in the manner of getting the allowance is not significantly related to social stratification.

In the Michigan secondary schools about one-half the seniors were enrolled in the curricula which would prepare them for college entrance; the remainder were enrolled in courses which would give them some training for vocations. The sons of white collar workers predominate in the college entrance curricula: whereas 50.2 per cent of the sons of white collar workers were enrolled in the academic curriculum, the corresponding figures for the sons of manual workers and farmers are 37.5 and 25.0 per cent respectively. The sons of white collar workers also predominate in the extra class activities. These boys have the greatest proportions in all extra class activities, excepting 4-H Clubs in which the farm youth dominate. The sons of manual workers show the least participation in extra class activities. The sons of white collar workers also made the greatest use of the vocational guidance facilities in the schools.

The Michigan seniors in the study were not unfamiliar with the world of work. About 65 per cent have had full time jobs and about 80 per cent have held part time jobs. A greater proportion of the farm boys than the other youths held full time jobs and the sons of white collar and manual workers held the greater number of part time jobs. In kinds of jobs held, the sons of white collar workers showed the strongest tendency "to follow in their fathers' footsteps."

TABLE III
SUMMARY OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE DIFFERENTIAL SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH,
SHOWING CORRECTED COEFFICIENTS OF CONTINGENCY

Factor	THE HOME Work Done at Home	Type of Allow- ance	Indices of Differential Socialization						
			THE SCHOOL Extra- class Curriculum	Voca- tional Activities	Guidance	THE WORK Kind of Full Time Work	THE WORK Number of Part Time Jobs	WORLD Number of Part Time Jobs	Amount of Money Earned
Social stratification	0.50	0.14	.....*	0.25	0.31	0.15	0.47	0.39	0.20
Education of father	.....	.....	.....	0.34	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Family size	.....	0.22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Working away from home	.....	0.61	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brothers and sisters working	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.17	.....
Rural-urban residence	0.35	.....*	0.15	.....*	0.25	.....*	0.36	0.36	0.17
									0.15

* Analysis revealed no statistically significant association.

The sons of manual workers held the greater variety of full and part time jobs. About 62 per cent of the sons of manual workers held full and part time jobs outside their fathers' occupational stratum. The corresponding figures for the sons of white collar workers and farmers are 45 and 36 per cent respectively.

Slightly over three-fourths of the seniors earned some money each week. Over one-half earned more than five dollars each week. A greater proportion of the sons of manual workers than the others earned some money each week and a slightly greater proportion of the sons of manual and white collar workers, in comparison to the farm boys, earned over five dollars each week.

Thus the data reveal significant relationships between social stratification and the socialization processes in the home, in the school, and in the community. The nature of the relationships between these differentials and the youths' work attitudes and interests is presented below.¹⁰

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Hypothesis II. The value orientations of sub-cultures of social strata are more important in formulating youths' work attitudes and interests than are the school, work experience, type of community, and certain factors in the home situation.

This hypothesis is partially substantiated. Social stratification is the most important social factor in the boys' occupational expectations and in certain of their work interests and preferences. The security attitudes of the seniors toward the work world are only slightly related to social stratification, as well as to other factors.

In the questionnaire the boys were asked to indicate the kinds of life work they would like to do most and the kinds of life work they actually expected to do. Their occupational aspirations and expectations are summarized in Table IV. The rank order in terms of aspiring to and expecting to achieve the higher status occupations is (1) sons of white collar workers (2) sons of manual workers, and (3) sons of farmers. The boys tend to aspire to jobs they do not actually expect to obtain. The sons of manual workers show the greatest downward adjustment between occupational aspiration and expectation, and the sons of farmers show the least.

Although the boys evidence considerable "upward striving," there is a strong tendency for them to actually expect a job in the same

¹⁰ No statistically significant relationship was found between the indicies of differential socialization in the home (work done at home and allowance received) and work attitudes and interests.

TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS, BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF FATHER, IN PERCENTAGES

Category	Occupation Aspirations				Occupational Expectations				Minus (2)		
	Sons	Manual	White	of Worker	Sons	Manual	White	of Worker	Sons	Manual	White
	Farmer	Sons	Sons	Farmer	Sons	Sons	Farmer	Sons	Farmer	Sons	Sons
	(1)				(2)				(3)		
Professional	19.4	36.4	42.4		12.0	20.6	30.7		7.4	15.8	11.7
Managerial	4.6	10.6	20.4		4.1	7.6	17.5		0.5	3.0	2.9
Clerical	4.6	6.7	7.1		5.3	7.4	8.4		-0.7	-0.7	-1.3
Skilled	22.2	17.1	11.9		7.5	16.0	9.1		14.7	1.1	2.8
Semi-skilled	1.8	5.4	2.7		7.4	16.6	7.5		-5.6	-11.2	-4.8
Unskilled	0.9	0.8	0.4		1.8	3.8	3.1		-0.9	-3.0	-2.7
Farmer	39.8	3.3	2.2		51.9	3.6	2.6		-12.1	-0.3	-0.4
No Response	6.7	19.7	12.9		10.0	24.4	21.1				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0				
N	108	719	452		108	719	452				

social stratum as that of their fathers. There is a strong tendency for the farm youth to expect to become a farmer, for the son of the manual worker to expect to become a manual worker, and for the son of the white collar worker to expect to become a white collar worker. The boys' occupational expectations substantially reflect their positions in the social structure, as set by their fathers' occupational levels.¹¹

In the questionnaire the boys were asked what they planned to do immediately after completing high school. A substantial relationship was found between social stratification and their post high school plans. The sons of white collar workers tend to expect continued formal education, while the sons of manual workers and farmers tend to look forward to full time jobs.

The seniors in the study were also asked various questions about their interests and preferences in work situations. In their attitudes

¹¹ The degree of association between social stratification and the boys' occupational expectations is evidenced by the corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.60, which is the highest for the factors considered (see Table V). This correlation is slightly higher than that found by Hollingshead, who examined the relationship between class position and youth's ideas about desirable jobs. In his study, Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, page 285, stratified the boys' families by the way the family lived, income and material possessions, participation in community affairs, family background, and prestige. He reported a corrected coefficient of contingency of 0.51.

TABLE V
SUMMARY OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH YOUTH'S WORK ATTITUDES AND INTERESTS,
SHOWING CORRECTED COEFFICIENTS OF CONTINGENCY

Factor	Future Plans		Work Interests and Preferences		Security Attitudes	
	Labor Unions	Age of Supervisor	Work Clothes	Vacations	Dealing with Public	Worker Makes Decisions
Social stratification	0.60	0.45	0.29	0.14	.....*	0.17
Family situation	.....*	.....*	.....	.....*	.....	.....*
Work done at home	.....*	.....*	.....	.....	.....	.....*
Amount of allowance	.....*	.....*	.....	.....	.....	.....*
Type of allowance	0.20	0.24	0.16	.....	.....	.....*
Family size	.....*	.....*	.....	.....	.....	.....*
Sibling position	.....*	.....*	.....	.....	.....	.....*
Working status of mother	0.15	0.17	.....	.....	.....	.....*
Father's formal education	0.38	0.38	0.23	.....	.....	.....*
The School	0.35	0.56	0.26	.....	0.22	0.23
Curriculum	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.23
Kinds of extra-class activities	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Number of vocational guidance conferences	0.26	0.26	.....*	.....	.....	.....
Work experience	.....*	.....*	.....	.....	.....	.....
Number of full time jobs	0.18	.....*	0.13	0.17**
Time on full time jobs	0.14	.....*	0.14	0.14**
Kinds of full time jobs	0.27	.....*	.....*	0.21**
Amount of money earned	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.24	0.22
Type of community	0.33	0.19	0.12	0.12	.....*	0.16
Rural-urban	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.08	0.20

* Analysis revealed no statistically significant association.

about labor unions, and in their preferences for "dress clothes" or "overalls" at work, the respondents reflect predominantly the influence of social stratification, since these relations show the highest contingency values (see Table V). Sons of manual workers tend to be pro-union in attitude; sons of farmers and white collar workers tend to be less favorable to labor unions. The sons of white collar workers tend to stress quality of work as a basis for promotion on the job; they tend to prefer dress clothes at work, longer vacations, and the older supervisor, and they want to work indoors. On the other hand, the sons of manual workers tend to stress seniority and the farm boys tend to stress quantity of work as the basis for promotion on the job. Both farm boys and the sons of manual workers tend to prefer the standard two-week vacation, to work outdoors, and to wear overalls.

The security attitudes of the youths toward the world of work are very slightly but significantly related to their father's social stratum, as well as to other factors.¹² The sons of white collar workers appear to be slightly more "confident and secure" about themselves in the world of work. This confidence is manifested in (1) their preferences for the higher paying jobs even though these jobs offer little security of tenure or retirement benefits and (2) their preferences for jobs which require dealing with the public and for jobs in which workers make all the decisions on the job. The sons of manual workers and farmers, on the other hand, tend to prefer low paying jobs which offer security of tenure and retirement benefits and to prefer jobs which do not require dealing with the public or decision-making by workers.

¹² The very low correlation values for these relationships do not support the hypothesis that social stratification is the most important factor.

Among the questions answered by the boys relative to the work situation, the following revealed no statistically significant relationship to social stratification: preference for

- (1) a supervisor who praises workers frequently or seldom
- (2) the supervisor who checks work frequently or seldom
- (3) the supervisor who mixes with workers frequently or seldom
- (4) the supervisor who is hired from outside as opposed to promoting someone from within the plant
- (5) associates with an equal or greater amount of formal education
- (6) positions which permitted or required travel
- (7) small or large companies.

WORK EXPERIENCE

Hypothesis III. Work experience produces changes in young peoples' behavior and these changes are reflected in their work attitudes and interests.

This hypothesis is supported. The boys' occupational expectations, some of their work interests and preferences, and their security attitudes vary with the amount and kind of work experience. The data support the following generalizations: (1) the more the work experience the boys have had, the lower their occupational expectations; the less the work experience, the higher their occupational goals;¹³ (2) boys from each social stratum who held only white collar jobs have slightly higher occupational expectations than those who held only manual jobs.¹⁴

The influence of work experience upon occupational goals is also manifested in the occupational expectations the parents have for their sons. The mothers have slightly higher occupational expectations for their sons than do the fathers. The mothers favor the professional and clerical occupations for their sons, whereas the fathers favor the managerial, skilled worker, and farmer occupations. Since mothers typically have less association than fathers with the occupational world this difference may be partially attributed to that fact. This interpretation is further attested by the fact than non-working mothers have slightly higher occupational expectations for their sons than working mothers.

No statistically significant relationship was found between the amount or kind of work experience the boys had and their attitudes about labor unions or their preferences in length of vacations. However, a statistically significant relationship was found between amount and kind of work experience and the boys' preferences in the age and sex of the supervisor, the bases of promotion on the job, and preferences in work clothes and place of work. With experience in the work world there is an increasing tendency for the boys to

¹³ For example, whereas 29.3 per cent of the boys with no months full time employment expect to become professional workers, only 18.5 per cent of those with 18 months experience or more have this expectation. Whereas 50.6 per cent of the seniors with no months job experience expect to become white collar workers, only 34.2 per cent of those with 18 months experience or more have this expectation.

¹⁴ For example, among the sons of manual workers, whereas 42.7 per cent of those with only white collar work experience expect to become white collar workers, only 33.3 per cent of those with only manual work experience have this expectation.

place emphasis upon elements in supervision other than age. The more the work experience the boys had, the greater the proportion who prefer a male supervisor. The boys who had only white collar work experience tend to emphasize quality of work as a basis of promotion, whereas those with only manual work experience tend to stress seniority; those with only white collar work experience tend to prefer "dress clothes" at work indoors; those with only manual work experience tend to prefer "overalls" at work and to work outdoors.

The degree of security with which the boys view the world of work is very slightly but significantly related to the amount of work experience they have had. This relationship is measured in terms of money earned. The boys who had earned some money showed a greater preference for jobs which offered security of tenure and which provided retirement benefits. The seniors who had earned no money paid little attention to these "security items;" they exhibited more "youthful confidence" about the world of work by "shooting for" the higher paying job even though it offered little permanency of tenure or retirement benefits.

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

Hypothesis IV. The American secondary schools are not successful in erasing the attitudinal differences concerning work which exist among young people from different social strata.

This hypothesis supported. The school is unable to overcome the differences created by social stratification. This is evidenced by the occupational expectations, work interests and preferences, and security attitudes of the twelfth grade Michigan boys which remain significantly related to social stratification although the students have virtually completed their secondary education.

However, the school tends to slightly modify some of the work attitudes and interests of the young men, but it appears to do so by "informal" rather than by "formal" means. The boys from each social stratum who enroll in the academic curriculum tend to have higher occupational expectations, tend to be less favorable toward labor unions, and tend to prefer "dress clothes" at work in comparison to the boys from each social stratum who enroll in the vocational curriculum. The boys from each social stratum who enroll in the academic curriculum tend to favor quality of work as the basis of promotion on the job, while the boys from each stratum who enroll in the vocational curricula tend to stress seniority as the basis for promotion. The seniors from each social stratum in the academic cur-

riculum, compared to those from each stratum in the vocational curricula, express the greater "confidence" in their ability to fill jobs which require dealing with the public all the time.

It is doubtful that these differences can be attributed to the formal courses taught in the high schools. Two explanations probably maintain: (1) The differences in attitude may be attributed to the social status of the families from which the boys come. It may be that the boys from the lower social status families in each social stratum tend to enroll in the vocational curricula and thus bring with them work attitudes similar to those of the sons of manual workers who predominate in these curricula. It may be that the boys from the higher social status families in each stratum tend to enroll in the academic curriculum and bring with them work attitudes similar to those of the sons of white collar workers who predominate in this curriculum. (2) On the other hand, the work attitudes revealed may result from "informal" assimilation of values in the school situation. It may be that the sons of white collar workers who enroll in the vocational curricula become identified with the interests of the sons of manual workers who predominate in these curricula. Conversely, it may be that the sons of manual workers who take the academic curriculum become identified with the interests of the sons of white collar workers who predominate in this curriculum.

The predominance of the sons of white collar workers in the academic curriculum, in extra class activities, and in the use made of vocational guidance facilities provided by Michigan secondary schools raises the question as to whether the schools are performing the democratic function ascribed to them in United States. To serve democratic purposes the secondary schools should give *all* youths an equal opportunity to qualify for high status position in the American work world. The schools should encourage students with the best abilities to go on to college, regardless of the social stratum from which they come. When the schools select and encourage an unusually high proportion of youth from the white collar social stratum to go to college and, conversely, when the schools tend to deny this same opportunity to boys from other social strata, the school is not adequately fulfilling its ascribed democratic role.

CONCLUSIONS

This study indicates that the work attitudes and interests of youth are related to numerous social factors. Among these social stratification, work experiences, and "informal" school experiences play a significant role. Social stratification, using the father's occupational

level as an index, is the most important social factor in the senior's occupational expectations, in their attitudes toward labor unions, and in their preferences for "dress clothes" at work. The sons of white collar workers, in comparison to the sons of manual workers and farmers, portray a slightly greater degree of "confidence" about the work world. Experience in the work world tends to make youth more realistic and cautious and less "confident" about achieving high status occupations.

In the work world and in the school situation the boys tend to assimilate the values of the groups they associate with. Boys with only white collar work experience tend to "take on" the sentiments and values of white collar workers, while boys with only manual work experience tend to assimilate the values of manual workers.

The work attitudes and interests of youth appear to be modified slightly by the school. However, this appears to be the result of "informal" association rather than by means of "formal" courses taught. The predominance of the sons of white collar workers in the college preparatory courses, in extra class activities, and in the use made of vocational guidance facilities suggests that the Michigan secondary schools tend to reinforce and manifest the values of the American white collar class.

E. Grant Youmans is with the National Institute of Mental Health, HEW, Bethesda, Md.